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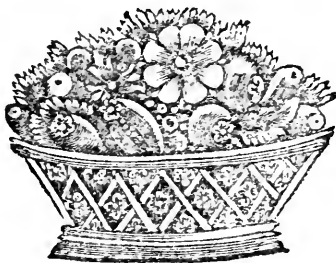
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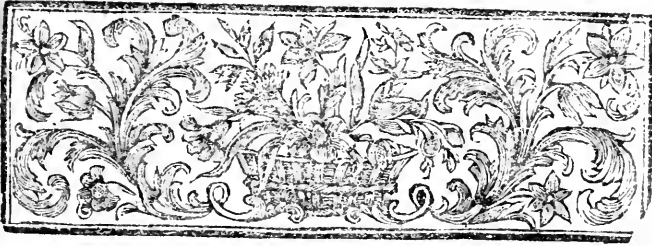
An Account of Affairs under the Conduct of some late Ministers, and of what might probably have happened if Her Majesty had not Died.

The Fourth Edition.



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THE
SECRET HISTORY
 OF THE
White-Staff, &c.



General and Prime Ministers
 have this peculiar Fate, That
 as they have the Honour of
 other Mens Merit, so they
 bear the Guilt of other Men's

Crimes; nothing is more certain than
 that neither the one or the other, in those
 high Stations, can act without the Agen-
 cy and Councils of such Seconds, who,
 as they ought to share in the Glory,
 so they have oftentimes such Influence
 in the Conduct of Affairs, and are so far

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Masters of the Schemes and Councils for the whole, that they cannot be clear of the Blame where Miscarriages in Management are to be accounted for.

Nor is this all, but as the said Prime Ministers cannot be suppos'd to act by their own Hands, or advise by their own Councils in all things they do, or in every Branch of their Administration ; so we often find that they have their more immediate Agents, by whom they not only may be said to act, and to whom they may be said to commit great part of the Management, but who oftentimes possess their Councils so entirely as to overrule them in many Things, and at last top upon their Masters, and become independent of them. We are not without Examples where such encroaching Instruments have supplanted those who went before them, nay their very Benefactors, and slip into the Chair of Management at the Expence of those that rais'd them to that Power, and whose Creatures they were.

History is fruitful in Examples of this kind, and as it would be to no purpose, so it would be tedious to those who shall read this Tract to enter into a Detail of Precedents. They who look into the Ac-

counts of the most recent Transactions of Court, will find a Cardinal *Richlieu* supplanting his Benefactress, and putting *Mary de Medicis*, Queen Mother of *France*; under Confinement, removing her from the Regency and Administration who had advanc'd him into the very Post, which gave him the Power and Advantage of using her so: *Thomas Becket*, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, did the like even to the King that advanc'd him; and another Arch-Bishop, since that, supplanted the very Instrument who brought him into Favour.

But we need not go so far back for Examples of this kind, the brief History which now lies before us will supply us with a living Description of these things and let us see how the Schemes of Administration, lodg'd in the most judicious manner, and carried on with Success unexpected by the whole World, have been overturn'd by the Agency of those Instruments who acting with different Views from those under whose Conduct, and by whose Authority, they were introduc'd; have set up Schemes of their own, and thereby not only supplanted those who they acted under, but gone far in throwing this poor Nation into such Confusion,

as might have been fatal to the publick Peace, if they had not been strangely and Providentially disappointed in the very Juncture in which they hop'd to put their Projects in Execution.

How these things have been acted, from what Principle, to what End, and in what Manner the Mines of State have been blown up, and the Mischief prevented, will be seen with great Clearness in the following History.

The Reasons and Beginnings of the late Revolution at Court, under the Ministry of the late Earl of *Godolphin*, are too many, and the History too long to be entred upon in this Tract; it is evident some Steps in the Management of Affairs, at that time, gave another Party room to break in upon them, and at once both to supplant their Power, and their Persons.

And as if a Fate had attended that Ministry, and that the Revolutions of the Administration were inevitable, it is observable they committed more Mistakes in their Attempts even to defend themselves, and ward off the Blow, than at any time before; these were such as the Prosecution of Dr. *Sacheverell* for a Sermon preach'd at *St. Paul's Church*, which by

carrying their Resentment up to an Impeachment in Parliament, they made a popular Cause, and which receiv'd so much Weight from the Warmth of the Prosecution, and Vigour of the Defence, that it remov'd the Dispute from the Person to the Parties, embark'd the Church and its Interest in the Quarrel, and brought the Ministry, without any such Design, to a Necessity of acting as it were against the Church Interest it self, which they all were Members of.

We can have no room to doubt, but they were led into this Snare by the Accident of that worthless Man's Sermon, who was not capable himself to do it with any such Design, or considerable enough to be employ'd by others that were; it being impossible for the wisest Head to foresee the Event, or to imagine that the Ministry would either want Forecast so much as to engage in such a little Affair, or want Strength to go through with it when they had engag'd.

When this Sermon was first Preach'd, tho' it gave offence, yet no Man ever expected the Ministry would trouble themselves about it; when they began to speak of it in the House of Commons, nothing could be expected more, than
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calling the Man before them, keeping him a little in Custody, bringing him to the Bar, giving him a Reprimand, censuring his Sermon to be burnt by the Hangman, &c. But the Enemies of the Ministry seeing further than others, were the first that laid the Bate to bring it up to an Impeachment, by which means they gain'd the Point they had long driven at, *viz.* To embroil the Ministry with the Church, at which Gap they broke in upon the Ministry, supplanted them with the Queen, whose Zeal for the Church could not permit her Majesty to gratify the Resentment of her Ministers upon a Clergyman, and from one thing to another they went on till they gain'd their End, and got a Superseas to the *White-Staff*, as the first step to a general change of the Administration, and at this Epocha, our Secret History takes its beginning.

There were concurring Mistakes at this time committed among themselves, such as the Breach with a Secretary of State a little before, who they dismissed from his Employment, with all the marks of Resentment imaginable, even to Indecencies, and such Treatment which signified an Assurance of their Power, and the

the utmost Disregard to any thing he might be able to do against them to do himself Justice, and yet, at the same time, they knew that they were not able to supplant him in the Favour of the Queen, or prevent Her Majesty giving him distinguishing Marks of that Favour, even before their Faces, and also taking her Measures from his Councils, in Contradiction to the Steps which they had often taken, and which sometimes gave them the Mortification of silently squaring their Measures by his Schemes, that they might seem to act from themselves what they should probably be obliged to do, after they had in vain opposed it.

This secret Fire they neglected at first, and impolitickly suffer'd to long to encrease, till it broke out into a Flame, which they could never quench; and continuing obstinately to oppose the restoring that one Minister, on Preumption, That the Queen would not venture to act without them; by this Measure they lost the Queen herself, and by Consequence fell from the Administration, and were supplanted by that Head, which they had not thought worth their while to apprehend any Danger from.

The Blow once given, and the Ministry displac'd, a new Scene opened, of which the like has not been known in the Case of displacing a Ministry, and to this is owing the terrible Breaches which have since happened among us. It will be very much to the Purpose, and a necessary Consequence of the present Design, as laid down in the Title, to pursue, with Brevity, the Conduct of the several Parties subsequent to this Remove.

The *White Staff* being laid down, was, for the present, determined into five *White-Staves*, of whom the Person for whom Fate had designed it, was not made the Chief at first, but had the Affair of the Exchequer so put into his Hands, that in Effect, he might transact Things with more Inspection.

This is noted, to signify what has not been noticed so much as it ought to have been; because that, Affairs taking a new Turn soon after, the Prime Minister had not Opportunity fully to discover, much less put in Practice, the first Measures he had taken for the Administration, which apparently were to have made no manner of Alteration in publick Affairs, or of Persons either, further than Necessity required; that is to say, not to have altered the

the Measures abroad, other than to rectify some things which wanted Redress, and bring our Allies to a more punctual Performance of the Stipulations and Agreements which they were under, that the Burthen of the War might have been more equally born; a Thing, which, however it was thought to be the Invention of the New Managers, it is certain the Old Ministry were sensible of, complain'd openly against, but did not think fit to carry any farther, for Reasons which I will not think fit to determine.

Nor were the New Ministry resolv'd only to go on upon the same Measures of the Administration, but even with the same Persons, a few excepted, had not the vigorous Opposition made against them, by the Interest of those who were actually displac'd, made it absolutely necessary to displace others; and the Indiscretion of many yet reserv'd in Place, encreas'd the Necessity by Degrees to the Extreme which we have since seen it brought to.

It is true, that the Dissolving the Parliament became the Substance of the Question, which the displac'd Party would fain have prevented; but the o-

ther had discovered so plainly, that the Endeavour to preserve the Parliament was with a Design to overthrow and destroy the New Ministry, that they could by no means abate that Article, and thereby give them the Opportunity.

This made the Breach irreconcilable, the displaced People shewed the uttermost Resentment, declared themselves disobliged to the highest, represented the Ministry as the Nation's Enemies upon all Occasions, and left no Stone unturn'd, by inflaming the People against them, running down the Credit, exposing them as Friends to the *French* Jacobites, and every thing that was bad.

The Ministry, on the other Hand, took Measures to establish themselves, and were, no question, driven to make use both of Means and Hands which they never intended to make use of; for to such a Height were the Breaches by this means brought, that as nothing was omitted on one Side to attack, run down, and overthrow them; so nothing was omitted on the Side of the Ministry, to preserve themselves: These unhappy Exigencies drove both Parties to do things which their own Friends blame them
for,

for, and which themselves acknowledge, nothing but such a Necessity could have oblig'd them to do, such as making *twelve Lords* on one hand, bringing in the *Occasional Bill* on the other, and several the like extraordinary Steps, which are buried in this Relation, rather because they should now be forgotten among us, than that they are not to the purpose.

The *White-Staff*, which is the Clue we are to trace in this *Secret History*, was now given into the Hand which, as was mentioned before, had been treated with so much Impolitick Contempt, and the Prime Ministry put upon that Head; which, altho' they always found capable, yet they never suffer'd themselves to think he could have gotten the Start of them, as they found he had; the Attempt made upon his Life by a Murtherer was so horrid, that even those who would not have been sorry to see his Fall, yet were satisfied to see him escape such a Tragical Attempt; and as the Mischiefs hastened his Advancement on the Queen's side, so it abated something of the Resentment on the other; and some had Hopes, that a Reconciliation, at least of Measures, if not of Persons, might

might have been brought about upon that occasion.

Nor was the Prime Minister wanting to shew his Readiness to bring things to an Accomodation; but the Breach was too wide, Things were gone too far. No Confidence could be fram'd among them, without which an Accomodation was altogether unpracticable; nor was there ever wanting Agents, on both sides, whose Business it was to prevent every approach towards an Agreement; and to represent to either side, that the other were not to be trusted; that at the same time that Application was made to heal the Breach, Measures were secretly laid to supplant one another, and the like.

By these and such like Arts, and with the Addition of some unhappy Practices, the Breach grew every Day wider; and all Reconciliation of Parties and Measures being laid aside, the Party War grew up to that extravagant height, as the like has not been known in these Nations since the Civil War; for at the Revolution things came sooner to a head.

The *White-Staff* however kept its Station, and the Policy and Management of the Prime Minister defeated all the Attempts which the displac'd Party had made,

made, or saw room to make, to break in upon him; in every Attack they were repuls'd; in every Battle he had the Victory; and albeit they never fail'd to renew their Assaults, yet they found him so well fortify'd in every Part, that many began to see their Mistake, and to own they had better have accommodated things at first; that they never thought he could have maintain'd himself in such a manner as they found; and that no Head but his could have extricated it self out of such Labyrinths, escap'd so many Snares, and brought himself out of so many Difficulties, as he had done. The very Things which they thought to have overthrow him most effectually by, they found themselves obliged to turn to his Advantage; and he received the Thanks even of some of their own Friends, in those Parts of his Administration which they thought were most open to their Censure.

For Example. In the Affair of the *Catalans*, where the Suggestion was very strong, of having abandoned a faithful People, who we had drawn into a terrible War, to the Ruine of their Country; and that we had left them, without taking sufficient Care of them to preserve them

them from the Resentment of the King of *Spain*, and had not concerned our selves to obtain Peace and Safety for them, or to oblige the King of *Spain* to treat them as the rest of the Subjects.

Whereas, upon a full Examination of the Affair, it was found, that we had fully and punctually discharg'd all Engagements to them, had obtain'd Safety, an Act of Oblivion, and a Grant of as great Privileges to them as they enjoy'd when we first engag'd with them. That we left them in the Hands of the Emperor, whose Subjects they chose to be, and whose Duty it was to have taken Care of them, and to have made farther Conditions for them, if it had been reasonable; and who could not be said not to be as able to defend them, as they have been to defend themselves? That however the Obstinacy of the *Catalans*, and their demanding such Privileges to be restor'd to them, as they had lost before we were any way concern'd with them, which Privileges Her Majesty never undertook to procure for them, nor indeed could ever expect, has been the sole Reason of their Misfortunes.

That nevertheless the Queen, or, to speak in their own Terms, the Ministry, had

had not fail'd to make such pressing Instances, both at the *Spanish* Court and at the *French*, for the granting Peace and reasonable Privileges to the *Catalans*, that it was confess'd more could not have been done; and that the *Catalans* were so resolute against all Proposals of Accommodation, and insisted upon such Grants, that no Sovereign could be supposed to stoop to.

Things appearing thus, it was acknowledg'd publickly, by some Men of Honour, who were nevertheless in the Interest of the other Party, that they did not think the Ministry had acted so far in the Interest of the *Catalans*; and that it was not possible to do any more, than to continue to make the same pressing Instances with the King of *Spain*; so that all this Charge was brought to an Address of Thanks for the Care taken of the *Catalans*, and to desire it might be continued.

The next thing was, a Complaint of distributing Pensions among certain of the *Highland-Clans* in *Scotland*, which by those first, who either were willing to conceal what they knew, or really knew no better, was suggested to be a secret supporting of *Jacobites*, enemies to the Constitution, and open favourers

of the Pretender ; a great length this Charge went among the common People, and was, for some time, taken as an undeniable Proof, that the Prime Minister had a secret Correspondence with, and paid considerable Sums of Money to, the Heads of the *Highlanders* in *Scotland*, who were known to be in the Interest of the *French*, and of the Pretender. At last this was ripened up to the Charge, and was brought into Examination in the House of Peers.

But when Matters were laid open, when the People were describ'd, the Nature of the Place, the Persons to whom, and the End for which the Money was paid ; how small a Sum it was, how Effectually it had answer'd the End ; and above all, when it appear'd that the like Sum, for the like Ends, was distributed in the former Ministry ; That by this Money, so many and such powerful *Clans* were kept in their Duty, preserv'd in the Interest of the Government, and prevented from taking the like, or greater Pensions, to enter into Engagement with *France* ; These things being so effectually clear'd up, as that even the Accusers were convinc'd of the Truth, they gave up the Cause, acknowledg'd that the Money was well imploy'd, &c. Thus,

Thus, as above, the very Attacks made upon the Prime Minister turn'd all into Victories; every one of which fortify'd his Interest, and made him stronger than before. There are many more Cases which issued like these to his Advantage, so that the other People began to see there was no more room left to expect Success against him, and nothing but the Life of the Queen, which seem'd many times to be in danger, gave them any Prospect of overthrowing the *White Staff*.

This leads us into a new Scene of Management, and will discover that part, of which little has hitherto been known. For we are to note, that when the Victory of the *White-Staff* was, to outward Appearance, compleat, and the displaced Party seem'd, even by their own Confession, to have nothing left to do but to despair; then was the real Conflict greater than ever, and he had a greater Difficulty to withhold the Rage of those who were for using their Advantages with Rigour, and entirely crushing, ruining, and oppressing those whom he had reduced, than he had had before either to reduce them, or to preserve himself.

The *Staff* had hitherto proceeded with a steady Resolution to maintain the Authority

thority and Power he possess'd, and had, as before, successfully frustrated and disappointed all the Measures of those who would have overthrown and pulled him down: But it was apparent, that Victory being obtained, he had no farther Schemes of Opposition to pursue; that it was not in his Design to crush and ruin the Persons he struggled with, or to erect any Dominion over them, as *Britains*; that he had no State-Tyranny to erect, no secret Designs to betray the Constitution, and this Negative introduced a War between him and those who, to outward Appearance, were in the same Interest with him, which at last broke out into a Flame, which produced unlooked for Events, which will be part of the Subject of the rest of this History.

The Hands which hitherto had assisted the *White-Staff*, and which, as before, he was oblig'd, by the Opposition he met with from the displaced Party, to make use of, were not the easiest to be governed of any in the World; and that we may introduce this Part with Clearness, it may be necessary to enter into Characters a little way, not of Persons, for this Discourse shall not be rendered invidious, but of Parties.

In Appearance, the general Division of Parties were known not by Tory and Whig, as formerly, but by New Ministry and Old. But yet, among those who were esteemed Friends to the new Ministry, there were several subdivided Parties of People, who acted with different Views, and on different Principles from the *White-Staff* himself, and two of these only shall be mentioned here.

First, A Party, who being really *Jacobites* in their Principles, went with the Ministry, in hopes of finding an Opportunity, out of the general Distractions, to produce something to the Advantage of that Party they adhered to, and to promote the Interest of the Pretender. Perhaps they might be so far imposed upon, as to believe, that the Design of altering the Succession was entertained by the Managers with whom they acted, though it was very strange, Men of any sense could be so weak: Nor was it an impolitick Step, if any Methods were taken to nourish their Folly in that Opinion, while at the same time it not only engaged them heartily in the Measures of the Ministry, but effectually took them off from all their other *Jacobite* Projects, and from all their foreign Interests and

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Expectations, and turned their Hands and Eyes to a foolish Expectation, in which, had they had the least foresight, they could not but see they were dropped in the beginning, and must effectually be disappointed in the End. Indeed nothing could be more absurd than this Phantome of the Jacobites, of believing the *White-Staff* was in their Interest ; and by being made to entertain that Dream, they hamstringed their Cause, and suffered themselves, both within Doors and without, to be made the Instruments and Agents to make that impossible, which they fancied they were bringing to pass.

Secondly, The other Party, who acted in concurrence with the *White-Staff*, were a set of High, Hot, out of Temper Politicians, whose view was, within themselves, and who acting upon Principles of absolute Government, pushed at establishing their Party in a Power or Capacity of Governing by the Severity of the Law ; to say no farther.

These found the *White-Staff* a great deal of Trouble ; an account whereof, and of its beginning, will make our Secret History compleat.

These Men, in the beginning of the Change, of which an Account is given above,

above, began to shew themselves, and push'd hard at the *White-Staff*, to introduce the Tyrannical part, which they always professed, into his Administration; and to shew that they were able to influence things by their Numbers, and to oblige him to it, if they could not otherwise prevail; to this purpose they separated themselves early from the new Men, set up for themselves, obtained a Title by way of Dignity, as well as of Distinction, of the *OCTOBER CLUB*, and pretended to act upon Schemes of their own; but the *White-Staff*, who knew that these Precipitations tended to ruin, not the Constitution only, but themselves, soon found out methods to untie this knot, and by silent, quiet Steps, in a little time, he so effectually separated these Gentlemen, that in less than Six Months, the Name of the *October-Club* was forgotten in the World, as if such a thing had never been heard of: nay, with so much Address was this Attempt overthrown, that he lost not the Men, tho' he put them by their Design, but united them again, in prosecuting the Measures which he had laid down, and giving up their own: This was a Victory of great moment to the *White-Staff*,

Staff, and without which he had lost the Day to the displac'd Party in the other Engagements, of which mention is made before.

Things now went on for some time with more ease ; the *White-Staff* acted, as in his first Measures, with a reserve to his own Designs, *viz.* in a medium between all the extreams of Parties ; and tho' by this he was sure to satisfy neither side, and be complain'd of and oppos'd by all, yet he easily foresaw, that no other Method could support the Government ; that nothing but close Measures, Moderation, Temper, and Time, could carry the Point ; that the Party he had to do with, were as Hot the other way ; and that this *October* Project would presently expose them all to a vigilant and powerful Party, who would not fail to break in at the first Gap that was made in the Constitution.

Having thus stifled the first Attack of these Men, the *White-Staff* went on in his Administration with the Success above-mention'd ; and about the latter end of the last Session of Parliament, People thought he had master'd all the Difficulties that were before him ; but the violent Spirit of these Men found him a new struggle. They

They had long endeavour'd to bring him to their Measures, (*viz.*) They told him that it was Time to strike home, *as it was called*, at the whole Party ; to give the Whigs the *Coup de Grace*, that they might die at once ; to make a thorough Reformation, by displacing every Whig or Moderate Man in the Nation ; to carry a *streight Rein*, and make the Government formidable, to restore the Prerogative, and make the People know their Duty ; To rule by Law, *they said*, was to put the Laws effectually in Execution, and not make the Law a Terror to the Ministry, instead of being a Terror to the People. That there was no way to quell Sedition, but by Correction ; That Justice was made use of against a Faction, to keep them down before they get up, as well as to pull them down when they are up ; That they had now gain'd an entire Victory, and they were not to act like *Hannibal*, who, having overthrown the *Romans*, had the Benefit of his Victory wrung out of his Hands for want of a vigorous following his Blow ; That now was their time to suppress effectually the Whigs, who had thus long struggled with them ; That a home Blow now would for ever knock them down, and the like.

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These were the Topicks these Politicians went upon, and Night and Day they besieged the *White-Staff* with their Importunities on this Head, who, still resolving to act only upon the Defensive, and not to ruin the Persons of the other, tho' he had broken them as a Party, remain'd inflexible; he told them, They were to content themselves with reducing the Power of their Opposers, without turning Oppressors; That it was his Business to baffle their Attempts, who endeavour'd to overthrow the Administration, but not to think that to overthrow the Constitution was the way to preserve the Government; That they fought to conquer, and conquer'd to save; That they were to consider the Whigs as a part of the Queen's Subjects, who, though, they were to be restrained, were not to be oppress'd, much less destroy'd; That they struggled with the opposite Party to keep them from Tyrannizing, but were not to tyrannize in their stead. On the other Hand, he told them, it was not their Part to push; that they were now *IN the Ministry*, and ought to risque nothing; their business was to preserve themselves in the Administration where they were, and be satisfied with

with doing so; that it was the Business of the other to be desperate, and to run at All, hazarding every thing, because they had nothing to stake; That the Case of the Ministry differ'd, who had nothing to wish more than they enjoy'd, and nothing to ask but to keep their Station.

On the other Hand, he represented to them, that as Temper and Forbearance had given them all the Advantages they had hitherto gain'd; so this was the only Way to secure themselves in those Advantages. That if they govern'd with Moderation, when they had compleatly establish'd their Power, they should rivet themselves in the Administration, by gaining the Hearts of the People; whereas pushing their Resentments by hot and furious Methods, would give Strength to their Opposers, produce new Factions, and new Parties against themselves; and by raising a general Aversion against them among the People, make way for their Fall on the first popular Fray that should happen, at which the Party would not fail to break in upon and overthrow them, as they had done by the former Ministers, on the unforeseen Accident of *Dr. Sacheverell's* Sermon.

He represented the Case of the Succession to them in lively Terms, told them, That if by any Measures they should once give the People an universal Jealousy, that they were not Friends to the Succession of *Hanover*, they would not fail to split on that Rock, and bring upon themselves the just Repentment of the whole Nation; That it was out of doubt, that no other Succession but that of *Hanover* could be thought of, so they that were of the Ministry, ought to give the Princes of that House, and the People here also, all possible Satisfaction, that there was no Design to prejudice that Succession; That, on the contrary, it was their Interest to let the House of *Hanover* see, that the Ministry were entirely in their Interest, so to make themselves the real Support of the Succession, and that the House of *Hanover* should succeed upon the Foot of their Administration.

In order to this, the *White-Staff* took Care to apply himself to the Court of *Hanover*, by such Ministers of Trust as were proper to satisfy the Protestant Successors, that he was entirely in their Interest; and that the Queen, notwithstanding the Clamour that was raised, had
not

not entertained the Design to their Prejudice; to confirm which, Her Majesty was prevailed with, in Her Letter to the late Princess *Sophia*, to offer, That if Her Highness *would open Herself with Freedom* to Her Majesty, and propose any thing for their further Satisfaction and Security, in the Matter of the Succession, Her Majesty would *come into it with Zeal*. See Her Majesty's Letter.

But this Discourse had no Effect upon these Men, unless it was to help form their Resolutions against all Moderate Measures, and against all that opposed the Methods of their own prescribing; at which they were so fix'd and unalterably resolved, that they not only refused to concert with the *White-Staff* the Measures of their future Conduct, but set up to oppose him, and underwork him in every thing he went about: Not content with this, they began openly to censure his Conduct, charging him with Reserves in his Administration, and with taking Measures prejudicial to the Interest in which they were engaged.

This was thus far among themselves only, and Friends were not wanting to endeavour on both Sides an Accommodation, but it was impossible; nothing
would

would serve these Men, but what was so destructive to their own, as well as to the publick Safety, that the *White-Staff* could not be brought to recede from his Resolution, or to pursue the immoderate Steps which he found them resolv'd upon. As it was impossible to bring them to Terms with one another, so was it impossible to prevent the Breach going farther, and the Consequences being made publick.

From private Complaints, it came to publick Reproaches: They give out among their own Friends, That the *White-Staff* was a Whig in his Heart; That he was bred a Fanatick, and retain'd still a warm Side to the Dissenters; That he had hitherto acted a Part only with the High-Church; had taken them in but as Tools, because the other would not join with him, and because he could not carry on his Designs without them; That having now got into Power, and made himself a *White-Staff* by their Interest, he had no more to do, but to make his Peace with the Whigs at their Expence, and betray them to secure his Retreat.

These Clamours, tho' they gave some Vent to their Passions, yet they did not effectually answer their End, unless some

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Exemplifications might be appeal'd to, and some Facts be brought upon the Stage, which might be convincing to the World. Two Cases were either originally contriv'd, or artfully turn'd, to serve this Purpose, and both were carried to the utmost Extent upon the *White-Staff*, to put him as it were to the Test, and bring his Principles to the Touch-stone.

The Church-men, who fell in with this new high Party, had long complain'd of the Liberty which was given, or conniv'd at, for the keeping of private Academies, Grammar-Schools, and other Schools, by the Dissenters, though a Law was in full Force against it. This, as a Grievance to the Church, had been often complain'd of, but never redress'd : The Juncture serves sundry ways. The *Church-men* are serv'd, by taking hold of this Opportunity to obtain what they had so long in vain desired, and so often in vain attempted. The *States-men* are serv'd by having an Opportunity, as they suppose, to push at the *White-Staff*, and plunge him into the Difficulty of explaining himself one way or other ; and a *Private View* was serv'd, of letting the Queen see, as they call'd it, who were most Zealous for the Church, which

which they always knew would be very obliging to her Majesty, tho' he avoided the Trap in all those, as we shall see presently.

This Mine being fully charg'd, was sprung with great Expectation of Success, the Bill for preventing the Growth of Schism was brought in. Neither the Bish— who solicited it, the P—r that closed with it, or the Commoner who negotiated it, thought it possible that it could fail in its Execution. If the *White-Staff* oppose it, said they, we have our Point; the Queen will see that all we have said of him is true, and that he is but a Fanatick in Disguise; and it will then be no hard matter to incense her Majesty, who is so heartily in the Church's Interest, against him, and he will infallibly sink under the Church's Resentment; but if he joins with it, then he effectually and irreconcilably provokes the Dissenters, strips himself of his private Friends, is lost without a Retreat, and we shall easily make them hereafter Instruments to destroy him.

The Secret of this piece of Management is so well known, that we have no Apology to make for it, save that it can hardly be called a secret History. That
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the Schism-Bill was a Mine dug to blow up the *White-Staff*, is known to every one that knows any thing of publick Matters; yet even here the Staff stood its ground, he was so well acquainted with their Management in all its Steps, and made himself so effectually Master of the Plot, even before it broke out, that he baffled them both ways; for he, as it were, castrated the Bill, took out all the malicious and persecuting Part which the *Wild-fire-men*, who were first in the Design, had form'd to ruin Families and oppress the People, let it pass with all in it that was really useful for the Church's Advantage, and yet left it unable to do the Mischief which it was design'd for: Thus the *White-Staff* neither discovered himself one way or other, by which means the Politicians were effectually disappointed, the Attempt to sap the *White-Staff* and its Interest proved Abortive, and he yet held his hold, without receiving any Wound from this Attempt; except that for a while, the Dissenters laid the Blame of that Bill, as an Attack upon their Toleration, at his Door; which, as it was the Effect of their Ignorance only, so they are since that fully satisfy'd of their Mistake.

The next was a very peculiar Step of this Party, and by which they opened themselves too freely, and very much to their Disadvantage. This was relating to the Payment of the *Hanover* Troops; these Troops were part of that Body, who, when they parted from the *British* Army in *Flanders*, were kept out of their Pay, by Virtue of the Declaration of his Grace the Duke of *Or—nd*, ‘ That none of the
 ‘ Troops in the *British* Pay, should receive
 ‘ any Subsistence after they had declin’d
 ‘ to obey the Orders of the *British* General. It is no part of our Business to shew here, why the said Debt ought, or ought not to be paid; the Minister of *Hanover* pressing the Payment of that Money, a Motion was made in the House of Commons to make Provision for it, the Sum amounted to 65022*l.* 8*s.* 8*d.*

The Party mentioned above, took hold of this Article, and, as if they had a great Advantage given them against the *White-Staff*, represented this as a great Affront to her Majesty: That it was apparent the *White-Staff* was carrying on his own Game at the Court of *Hanover*: That he would never permit an honourable Embassy to be sent thither; but that he always kept his Kinsman there without any Character,
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but as a common Messenger: That he was making his Court privately to the House of *Hanover*, and sought to have the Elector think himself obliged to him [Staff] for the procuring this Payment.

How far they push'd this Point, is well known; they not only stopt the Motion, and prevented the Justice that would otherwise have been done to the House of *Hanover*; but prejudiced the Queen in it also, as if the Motion had been a Dishonour to her, and that the Staff had formed his Interest at *Hanover* at her Majesty's Expence; how far this was improv'd to the Prejudice of the *White-Staff*, with his Royal Mistress, I shall not enter upon here, her Majesty being removed; But I dare say, no one will think that this did the *White-Staff* any Prejudice in the Court of *Hanover*; or that it will be any present Disadvantage to him, in the Opinion of those who have been constant Friends of the Succession.

From this time they seem'd to gain ground upon the *White-Staff*, albeit their Advantage could not be so much grounded on this particular Case, without reproaching the Discretion, as well as Justice of some Body else; the *White-Staff* having done nothing in this, but what became him on

several Accounts: Especially in Honour to the Queen, and in Justice to the House of *Hanover*, to whom the Money was fairly due, and the Publick Faith stood engaged for the Payment.

If the *White-Staff* sunk in the Esteem of any Body from that time, it was a very happy Occasion, seeing the Reason was this, and none other, *viz.* That they found him immoveably attach'd to the Interest of the Protestant Succession, and inseparably engaged to that of the illustrious House of *Hanover*; Nor were the Princes of that House so unacquainted with Things and Persons in the *British* Court, as to be ignorant of it.

The appearing for the *Hanover* Interest, at that time, was also a most seasonable Aid to the Interest it self; For at this time the Nation, whether with or without Cause, was exceedingly alarmed with Apprehensions, not only of the Preparations and formidable Strength of the Pretender, but also of some secret Designs among great Persons, for the propagating his Interest in these Kingdoms; and however, we will hope none of the Ministry could be capable of so directly opposing the true Interest of their Country, yet it is well known that the

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People, who spread these Reports, were not at all backward in declaring, that they believed the Ministry themselves were guilty of those Designs.

I will not dishonour the Sence and Understanding of any Member of the Ministry so far, as to believe any thing of it, or to say that there was a sufficient Foundation for such a Charge: Certainly they had too much Knowledge of the Nature and Efficacy of the Parliamentary Provision, made for the immediate Succession of the House of *Hanover*, to think the Interest of the Pretender could ever be made Practicable; and too much Regard to their own Heads, to risque them on so Impracticable a Design. But the matter of Fact lay here, there were many real *Jacobites* among the People, whom, as things stood, they cared not to disoblige; and this restrained them from declaring in Favour of the House of *Hanover*, so clearly as otherwise they might have done, least the other should break in upon them, when divided from their Friends.

But the *White-Staff* was of another Opinion: For he having, as before, conquered the *Displaced Party*, and carried his Point so far, as that he was out of
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Fear of any farther Attempt from them, he thought they could no longer deny giving the Nation a full and ample Declaration of their being sincerely embark'd in the Interest of the *Hanover* Succession, and that there was no Danger of the Pretender from the Ministry. He took this not only to be a Justice due to the People, but also the true Interest of his Royal Mistress, and of the Administration also, to whom, especially to the Queen, it was absolutely necessary, to quiet the Minds of her People, and make all her Subjects easie in so important an Affair as that of the *Pretender*.

Perhaps it might be some Motive to this, that the *White-Staff* thought it hard to be continually reproach'd with being in the Interest of the *Pretender*, and was impatient to vindicate himself from a Charge which he lay under, meerly by waiting the Measures of other Men, and from which he could so easily and effectually purge himself, and so much to the Satisfaction, not of the People only, but of the Protestant Successor himself.

And it cannot but be a little observable here, How the *Displaced Party* maltreated the *White-Staff* all this while, as being embark'd with the Pretender; and that

that this Court-Faction was, *at the same time*, undermining him, because of his being secretly at work for, and engag'd in the Interest of, the Elector of *Hanover*; how these Contraries agreed, remains for this Secret History to discover.

It was now high Time for the *White-Staff* to be in earnest to himself; his own Preservation, a thing he had not always listen'd much to, call'd upon him to draw out from a Party, who were resolute to precipitate themselves, and the publick Affairs, into inextricable Labyrinths. Nor was this all, but as the Success of all their Designs was to be their own Advantage, so was the Miscarriages to be all at his Expence; for the *White Staff* being supposed to be at the Head of all Affairs, the Odium of every false Step was sure to be laid there, the popular Hatred was certain to center there, and he was like to be charg'd with the very Mistakes, which he had openly and avowedly opposed.

Nor was this come to a contemptible Height; for as the Conduct of these Men gave daily Uneasiness to the People, and the Charge of the Ministry being in the Interest of the Pretender, became very popular. It was not without Ground,
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that the *White-Staff* was thought to be in Danger of being sacrific'd to popular Fury, if any Attempt in Favour of the Pretender had really been made; for who can answer for the Rage of a Rabble in the Heat of a Tumult, where they have any single Man pointed out to them as the Cause of all their Grievances? It is true, the *White-Staff* carried it with a steady, unconcern'd Composure, all this while; but he could not be insensible of what the Follies of these Men tended to, and how all the Resentment due to their Conduct was pointed at him.

While this was his Case, the Faction for these, above all the several Divisions, best deserve the Name, went on to supplant and undermine him with his Royal Mistress; representing him as acting with such a Reserve in all the publick Administration, that not the Queen Her self, much less the rest of the Ministry, were acquainted with any thing till they saw it done; that even the Privy Council it self, not only for Form sake, and rather to approve and set their Hands to what was already done, than to advise what was proper to do. That he govern'd all things with such an absolute Authority, and carried it in so superior a manner, that

that it was become insupportable to all the rest of the *Ministry*, who were only us'd but as Copying-Clerks to his Negotiations, and treated like Servants rather than Members who were entrusted by the Sovereign with the same Administration: *Tho' the sum of all this was*, That as the Success of all his Management was, in a great measure, owing to his being Master of his own Measures, and he saw great Reason not to put his Schemes in some hands, who were mighty importunate to be trusted. They less regarding the publick Good, than gratifying the Vanity of being employ'd, took an Offence even there where they ought, had they been in the same Post, to have acted in the same manner, or have been expos'd to the Censure of the whole World, for Men who were not equal to their own Measures.

How it came to pass that these Insinuations prevail'd so far with his Royal Mistress, or that the *White-Staff* began to be made uneasy there, where all the World believ'd his Interest so firm, as not to be shaken by any Arts or Contrivances whatsoever. How, I say, or by what Treachery of Instruments, this was brought about, is a Secret that ought still to remain so, her Majesty having

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been so snatch'd away from the head of Affairs: But it was plain to many Observers, That the Queen began, even in two days, to see that her Goodness was impos'd upon; This is evident, in that the *White-Staff* having, in a while after this, shifted hands, it was fix'd, by the Royal Direction, in Hands as different from their Views who obtain'd it to be removed, as it was before, and as unexpected and surprising to the People we are speaking of, as a Clap of *Christmas* Thunder to a Female Soothsayer.

But as the present History relates much to this Remove, so whatever is not proper to be mention'd must remain to be seen by the Consequences, lest we follow Truth too close at the Heels, and obtain the Disaster of touching the Follies of some Men, before they are dispossest'd of the Power to resent it.

That Female Buz which had, for many Years past, too much Influence in publick Management, began now to work; and Men of State thought fit to plough with the Heifers of the Court: It matter'd not how far Honour and Gratitude oblig'd them to have acted upon other Principles, when once their secret Intelligences inform'd them, that
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by this means, they had a fair View of bringing their Designs to pass, they soon broke through those little things called Obligations ; forgetting who raised them, and by whose Conduct they had been supported against all the Attempts of a Party, which, had they stood alone, would have crush'd them into Atoms of Disgrace and Contempt, even with one of their Fingers.

But the glittering Hopes of getting the *White-Staff* into their Possession, and the eager Desires of having an Opportunity thereby, to put in Execution those wicked Designs, which had been long seated in their Imagination, and which they knew, by many Demonstrations, the *Staff* would never give way to; these things, I say, prevail'd with them to trample under their Feet the Honour and Duty of Servants to the Queen, and the Principles of Respect and Gratitude to that superior Genius, who had formerly serv'd and oblig'd them in the highest Degree; and *which was yet worse*, to quit all that Regard which, as Ministers of State, they owed to the publick Good, and the Peace of their Country, which they well enough knew was centred in that one Capital Article of the Constitution, *viz. The Protestant Succession.* H 2 It

It can never be sufficiently lamented by every true Subject of *Britain*, How far the Honour, Dignity, and Reputation of the Queen became a Sacrifice in the Hands of these Men; How far they abandon'd the Regard which in Duty they owed to their Sovereign's Veracity; How far they expos'd their Sincerity, which every one that knew intimately the Queen's Conduct, knew her Majesty acted with in every thing she did; I say, How they expos'd it to common Censure, and how the Enemies of the Government took Occasion, from their Conduct, to suggest, *That the Queen herself had private Aversions to the Protestant Successor, a warm Side to the Pretender, and that she was entred into Measures for the latter against the former.*

Though I cannot by any Means allow, that there was the least Truth in any part of these Suggestions, yet it cannot be denyed, but that the Conduct of these Men, and the Influence of their Female Agents at Court, made the Reasons which some Men gave for those Suggestions too plausible; and albeit the known Principles on which her Majesty always acted, *viz.* To do every Thing
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that lay in her Power to procure the Peace and Prosperity of her People, secured her Royal Character from the Infamy of those Reproaches, and People could not easily entertain the Thoughts of their Sovereign, which these Insinuations lead them too; yet there were not the same Reasons to move us not to believe, that these Men had it not in their Design. On the other Hand, Many People thought they had good Reason to say, *That if the Queen was not really in the Design of these Men, and was not consenting to Measures fatal to the Protestant Succession, it was not their Faults, nor for want of frequent Attempts, on their Side, to bring it to pass; and though they were not yet arriv'd to that Height, as to own their Design to her Majesty, yet a Genius of very little Penetration might see, they were not so remote to it as they pretended to be.*

But they had Foresight enough to perceive, that Things were not ripe for Execution; That they could not declare themselves upon the main Point till some Obstacles were remov'd. The first and most dangerous of these was the *White-Staff*; They had in vain taken all the Ways possible, not to try whether he was in
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the Design or no, for that they knew he WAS NOT ; but if possible to bring him over to it. But finding him not only inflexible, but that he was, on all Occasions, making Advances in the Interest of the *Hanover* Succession, and that if he went on, he would not only fortify the Inclinations of the Queen against their Attempts, but do some publick Thing that would render the Succession Impregnable, past the Power of their Party to shake it, and out of Danger of being altered, whether the Queen should Live or Die: This being their Case, they resolv'd to put a Stop to all the Advances they were making in this Affair, till a better Opportunity, and in the mean Time to apply their whole Interest and Cunning to remove the *Staff*, dispossess him of the Power he possessed, and, if possible, of the Favour of the Queen.

How this was done, and how far it has tended to the Honour of the *Staff*, to the Vindication of his Character among the Lovers of the Constitution, and how seasonably to detect the Faction who brought it to pass, will appear in the Sequel of the Story.

It was matter of surprize to all People, who knew no more of things than what

was to be seen without doors, to find a sudden Breach among the Managers of publick Affairs, and the Ministry divided into Two Parties. The Whigs were so far from entering into the Notion of it, that their first Opinions of it amounted to no more than this, That it was all a *Feint*, or a *Bite*, as they call'd it, and that it was a Concerted State Juggle between the Courtiers; to carry on some Design which the *Staff* had in hand.

They were a little puzzled indeed, and at a loss in that Opinion, when they found that the high Party began generally to form themselves, that in all their Discourses, they began to decry the Conduct of the *Staff*, Cry up the Capacity and Genius of the *Great Seal*, and of some other managing Heads which were apparently acting in Conjunction with him; and this was further encreased, when they found this Language began to be spoken within the Walls of *St. James's* and *Ken——ton*, and that the *Staff* began to be treated with less Confidence, and receiv'd with less Distinction there than he was wont to be; That the rising Sun seem'd to be plac'd upon another Head, and that Dependants began to make their Court another way.

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By degrees these things began to convince People that the thing was no Jest, That there was an Interest forming against the *Staff*, and that it was not without some probability that it was likely to be powerful enough to prevail.

Nor was it difficult to guess at the Reason of the Breach, when the People who had formed that Interest began to be better known.

All this while, the *Staff*, who seem'd unconcern'd at all their Measures, was too vigilant not to penetrate into their Designs; and being fully Master, not only of what Steps they were taking against himself, but of what they aim'd at beyond him, and why they found it necessary first to remove him, was not so much wanting to his Royal Mistress, as not to lay before her the whole Project.

I will not say that he had altogether the success in prevailing upon her belief of the latent particulars, as was usual to him in things less concerning himself, or that the Relation made that impression at first that the right of the thing might require; and if it was so, it is easy to say what Insinuations that part might be owing to: But the *Staff* unconcern'd at
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the Event, perform'd this Part as a Duty to the Queen, and a Discharge of that great Trust which had been repos'd in him formerly; and seeing, with Concern, what Impressions had been made another way, he contented himself with having discharg'd that Duty, contemning all that which Politicians call Self-Preservation, and *Entirely Neglecting* the Party he let them go on, well knowing that if they had the greatest Success they expected, yet their own Measures would at last overthrow them; and that, seeing he could not prevail with them to be wiser for themselves, every Step they prevail'd against him would, in the end, be his Safety and Advantage; since it would on all Occasions appear, that he had drawn out from them, and sacrific'd his Safety and Interest, meerly because he would not come into Measures ruinous to his Country, and to the Interest of his Sovereign.

It needs not that I should enter here upon a Discourse of the Duty of States-Men, and how they ought to think themselves oblig'd always to regard the Interest and Safety of their Country; to make it superiour in their Aims to the most advantageous Prospects, or the great-

est of their Designs, and in Cases of Necessity to sacrifice their Ambition, and even their Lawful Hopes to the Publick Good; or that, having phylosophis'd upon this Subject, I should enter by way of Panegyrick to set down how far the Conduct of the *Staff* appears to have been grounded upon this just Principle; I am not at Leisure now to do the Personal Character of the *Staff* the Justice these Things call for; Posterity will acknowledge it to him when, if the Facts being but impartially stated, they shall see how much they owe to this particular Transaction, the effectual Disappointment of all the Schemes which were then laid for the Ruin of our Liberties, Religion and Constitution.

To return therefore to our History, We found that the *Staff*, having left these Men to act upon their own imaginary Schemes, and they having now, as it were, the full Liberty they desired, they fail'd not to make use of it with the greatest Assurance imaginable; pursuing their first Design to supplant him effectually in his Interest with the Queen. To this Purpose they procur'd several Things to be demanded of him in the Execution of his Office, which,

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as *Staff*, they knew he could not comply with, and which they were satisty'd he would excuse himself from doing; to which Excuses it lay on them to give the most malicious Construction that they were able, and which, by the Artifices of some Females, who had too many Obligations to the *Staff* to make such Management very honourable, they easily found Means to do. Nor perhaps would those very People have been the last to have charg'd him with Misapplications, if he had comply'd with their Demands, or if he had sail'd, with Plainness and Resolution, to represent the Necessity he was under to refuse that Obedience, which, in other Cases, he was ready to give without any Reserve to the Orders and Commands of his Sovereign.

There was nothing so malicious and unjust as the Insinuations, which the Agents of this Faction made upon the Occasion aforesaid; not failing to represent every thing as much to the Disadvantage of the *Staff* as it was possible; suggesting that he exercised his Power with the same, or a greater arbitrary Haughtiness than that which he had alledg'd upon his Predecessor. That while he pretended the preserving Liberty, he himself acted with unsufferable Tyranny. That not content

to exercise this Temper towards the Subject, he now began to oppose himself to the Queen also; to dispute her Majesty's Commands, and to obstruct her Favours, if he found them directed to Persons who he thought fit to pique in private Matters. That in publick Affairs, he carried on an Interest with the House of *Hannover*, dishonourable to, because without the Knowledge of her Majesty; That he sought to establish himself in the good Graces of the Successour at her Majesty's Expence, and at the Expence of the Honour of the Throne, and the like.

While these things were believ'd, it is not to be wondred at, if some Dissatisfactions began to take place to the Prejudice of the Interest of the *White-staff*, which albeit he was not insensible of, yet he too plainly saw that they were not easily to be remov'd, unless he submitted to a Faction, who he was satisfy'd were embark'd in a premeditated Design to destroy and betray their Sovereign; wherefore he resolv'd to reserve himself as before for better Times, and to wait an Occasion when he might open her Majesty's Eyes to the Design that was in hand, and detect the Schemes of these Men, not to her Majesty only, but to the whole Nation. The

The said Faction having thus an uninterrupted Freedom of acting, it was no hard matter to carry on their Scheme, and, as they improv'd the Occasion with the greatest Diligence, it was not long before they found means to let the *Staff* know, that it would be taken kindly if he would resign. But the *Staff* resolving to put them upon more openly discovering themselves, waited as though he had not understood those Hints, continued to execute the Duty of his place with all the Tranquillity and Composure of Mind, as if he had not the least Notion of being remov'd, and thereby oblig'd them to go nearer the forcible Point than they design'd to do.

There being then no other Method, they were at length oblig'd to let him know, that it was her Majesty's Pleasure he should resign, &c.

Nothing was ever acted with more Temper and Gravity, and yet with an undepress'd Gallantry of Spirit, than the *Staff* acted this last Scene, when putting into the Queen's hands the Ensign of Office, he chearfully removed from the highest Station of Honour and Power, next to the Sovereign, into that best and noblest Post of Honour, A Private Station.

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Neither could any thing be more moving than the manner how he express himself, and the Substance of what he said at the Time when he made his Recess from the Dignity he had so successfully enjoy'd, which I have heard was in Terms something like what follows.

‘ He told her it was with great Satisfac-
 ‘ tion, on his own Account, that he
 ‘ came to lay down what he never, but
 ‘ with a View to her Majesty’s Interest,
 ‘ enjoy’d with any Comfort. That the
 ‘ only Grief he conceiv’d in his Removal
 ‘ was, the Assurance he had that those
 ‘ People who pretended to succeed him,
 ‘ would embark her Majesty in impracti-
 ‘ cable Schemes, which, if her Majesty’s
 ‘ own Wisdom did not prevent it, would
 ‘ be her Ruin. That the Measures they
 ‘ were upon would embroil her, not only
 ‘ with her Neighbours and Allies abroad,
 ‘ but with her own Subjects at home,
 ‘ That he would never cease to watch for
 ‘ her Majesty’s Safety upon all Occasions,
 ‘ and to acquaint her with the Steps these
 ‘ Men would take to overthrow her Tran-
 ‘ quility, and made no question to detect
 ‘ the blackest Designs of a Set of Men
 ‘ now pretending to serve her, and to
 ‘ con-

convince her Majesty that they had sacrific'd her Peace, and that of their Countries, to their own Avarice and Ambition. That he was resolv'd to have no hand in any Unhappiness that should befall her Majesty. That he had choten to decline his private Advantages rather than to be concern'd where he foresaw the Destruction of the Constitution: That he had landed her Majesty safe thro' the Tempestuous Sessions of Four Parliaments, and brought her into a View of that General Tranquility of *Europe* which had lain so near her Heart, that the Sea of Blood which had been spilt might stop, and the Peace of her own Kingdoms might follow: But that these Men would defeat her Subjects of the Blessing which her Majesty had so often express'd her Desire of seeing them enjoy. That he was fully convinc'd it was always her Majesty's settled Resolution to preserve the Succession as it was establish'd in the House of *Hanover*, and that he was still of the Opinion, that the Safety of her Majesty's Person and Reign, as well as the Peace of her Dominions after her Decease, depended upon preserving that Succession unalterable, as her Majesty had always express'd herself, both in
 Pub-

Publick and in Private, resolv'd to do.
 That he was satisfy'd these Men aimed
 at Things, which if they did not di-
 rectly advance the Interest of the Pre-
 tender, yet tended to the Prejudice of
 the Succession of *Hanover*, and at least
 to keeping open the Breaches among the
 People, and to make them more and
 more uneasy about the Security of their
 Religion and Liberties in the Case of
 the Succession. That as he resolv'd
 never willingly to offend her Majesty
 in any thing, so he could not on the
 other hand refrain to oppose those who,
 however they had found means to per-
 swade her Majesty of their good De-
 signs, had yet given such proof of their
 having embark'd in dangerous Things
 against their Country, that no honest
 Man could join with them; and that
 he chose to lay down the greatest Ad-
 vantages, and rather to bear the present
 loss of her Royal Favour, than to have
 any hand in Measures which he was
 satisfy'd would tend to lessen her Safe-
 ty; and he did not doubt that when her
 Majesty should be convinc'd, that he
 had lost her Favour to preserve her Per-
 son and Government, she would not
 lay that Sin to his Charge.

A Discourse of this Nature was too moving not to affect even her Majesty herself; she felt the Return of those kind Sentiments which had taken such deep Root in her Mind, in Favour of the *White-staff* on former Occasions; and I have been inform'd, that from this Moment, her Majesty form'd some New Resolutions on this Affair, *viz.* 1st, That altho' she did at present receive the *Staff*, yet not immediately to gratify the Instruments in the placing it: And, 2^{dly}, In a short while to restore it to the same hands again, upon the foot of such Schemes as he had laid before her Majesty; which Schemes he had satisfy'd her Majesty would be Effectual for the setting all the Disorders of the Government to rights again, forming such a Union of Interest and Measures, between her Majesty and the Protestant *Hanover* Successor, as should have made her Majesty and the House of *Hanover* perfectly Easy, and have given full Satisfaction to all her Subjects, That their Religion, Liberties and Estates should be Effectually secured to them, in the undoubted Succession of that Prince, who now, by God's Grace, Peaceably possesses the Throne.

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But to Return to the History, The *Staff* having concluded what, as above, was said to be address'd to her Majesty; turn'd himself to some of his Supplanters, who it seems were present at this part of the Act, and, with a smart, yet modest Address, took the Freedom to tell them plainly, how unequal they were to the Burthen, which they now pretended to take upon them; how disregardful they were of the publick Tranquillity in Comparison of their private Advantages; that they hazarded nothing, their Lives and Reputations not being to be nam'd in the Hour with the Repose of their Sovereign, who they were drawing into inextricable Labirinth, and who they ought not to plunge, as it was Evident they would now do, into any Uneasiness, whatever Advantages they might propose to themselves: He then very handsomly expos'd their new Schemes to themselves, decently ridiculed their impolitick Measures, and foretold them to what Distresses they would reduce themselves in a little time, putting them in mind of a Debt which they would owe to the National Justice at last, and how unwilling they would be to pay it.

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He reckon'd up the several Exigences they had, by their precipitant Councils, brought things to in their former Management, the Scandal of which lay on him; and how often he had extricated them out of those Dilemma's, when they were ready to desert both their Country and themselves for fear of Publick Justice. He prophetically told them how, they would be, in a little while, reduced to the primitive State of Meanness and Contempt in which he found them, and from which her Majesty's Goodness had rais'd them at his Intercession: Concluding, That he was no Enemy to their Persons, but was very sorry he was obliged to be so to their Measures; That he had too long born the Reproaches which was due to those Measures which he had in vain perswaded them against, and that it was time now that the World should see who were the Enemies to the *British* Establishment; and that the Nation should direct their Resentments where the Guilt, which they suppos'd deserv'd it, lay; and should know the Authors of their Uneasinesses from those who had heartily struggled to prevent them. He told them, if they had been Capable of any Moderation in their Success, they had obtain'd

as much Victory over the Party who opposed them, as any *British* Subject ought desire over another : That they ought to distinguish between a War of Parties, where the End is only to preserve themselves in the Administration, and a War with a Forreign Nation, where the End is Conquest and Ruin. That the way to preserve the Advantages they had obtain'd, had been by exerting themselves in the Interest and Service of their Country, to make her Majesty's Reign happy and easy to the People, and by all the Steps of Prudence, Justice, Clemency, and Tenderness, Things which they knew her Majesty delighted in, have recommended the Administration, and convinc'd the People that the Calumnies raised on them had been false and slanderous, and so have reconciled the Nation to them, by the real Merit of their well managing the publick Affairs.

Finally, He appealed to them, if this had not been the Doctrine that he had always preached to them, and if he had not frequently told them, that they would bring the whole Nation upon them by their contrary Behaviour? He concluded all by challenging them openly, if there was any Corruption in his hands,

hands, to bring him to the severest Tryal. He told them if he had enriched his Family by engross'd Favours, secured to himself Gifts or Grants, raised his Substance by the Plunder of his Country; or if any Embezlements or Misapplications were to be found with him, that he desired they would Charge him, and that her Majesty might shew him no Favour.

These Things, and many more to this purpose, as I am inform'd, were said on this Occasion; when no Reply being made, he dismiss'd himself from publick Business, and delivered himself from the Odium of other Men's Errors, and the *White-Staff* remain'd for some Days in a State of Non-existence.

It was soon perceived that this Discourse had made deeper Impressions, in the Breast that was immediately concern'd in it, than was imagined; we may not say that the sudden and dreadful Stroke which, in a very few Days, or perhaps Hours after, fell upon her Majesty's Person, whose Loss no Happiness, or Sence of the Happiness in her Glorious Successor, forbids us to mourn for, was occasion'd by this Incident; leaving that to the Skill of those who, prying into the Rea-
sons

sons and Causes of her Majesty's Distemper upon the Dissection of the Royal Corps, told us, That all the nobler Parts were found and perfect, suited to a long Life and good Constitution, but that something which affected her Heart was supposed to occasion her Death; if this be so, it remains for those Men to lay it to Heart, and consider how far they contributed to that fatal Blow, and might be Instruments in the hand of second Causes to shorten that Life, of which they had such Obligations on them to be tender.

Be this as it will, It was not many days e'er we saw her Majesty dispose of the *Staff* from them, and place it in a hand which they had as little *Apprehensions* of as *Inclination* to: Nothing could have been a greater *Surprize* to them than this Step which her Majesty took, and as they were never famous for *Presence of Mind* in the *Article* of a *Surprise*, it was no wonder to see them in an *Astonishment*, that divested them of all *Power* to take proper *Measures* for their future *Conduct*, or in the least manner to conceal their *Disorder*: We are told some of them had the *Affurance* to ask her Majesty *if she knew what she did?* To which her Majesty gave such an *Answer* as they deserved, and as
 very

very well express'd the just Indignation she conceiv'd at their Conduct, as well as her Resentment at so insolent a Question; but as this Part is but a Report, it admits of no further Discourse at this time.

The Tragical Part of this History has prevented the Discovery of what Steps the late *Staff*, for so we must now speak of him, had made to overthrow the Measures of these People. The Glory of our Nation sunk unhappily under the Weight of this Breach, the Head of Government being struck with Death a few Moments after what has already been related was transacted.

This Tract shall no farther inquire into the melancholly Part, *viz.* How much the Disturbance, these things were to her Majesty, gave any Assistance to the Distemper which seized her so violently, or hastened her Death; Nor has it any Relation to the Design in hand: But one Thing cannot pass our Observation, because it tends to undeceiving the People in what they seem very Confident of.

It is the *Common Place*, or General Discourse and Opinion of many People, That had the Queen lived a few Months longer, we should have been all inevitably

bly given over to the *Pretender*, and the Schemes for bringing him in had been so Effectually laid, that either the Queen herself should involuntarily have been made the Instrument of her own Ruin, and that of her Peoples, or to have been utterly unable to prevent it.

This is become now so general an Opinion, that nothing can persuade some People to believe otherwise, whereas the true *Secret History* of that Part looks quite another way, and in short is this: That had her Majesty lived Two Months longer, she had with her own hands, by the *Assistance* of the late *Staff*, with whom no doubt the present *Staff* would gladly have concurr'd in so Glorious a work, I say, her Majesty had with her own hands overthrown all the wicked Schemes those Men had laid, and which she was already made sensible were Destructive to her real Interest, and the Peace of her Kingdoms.

The Time was so short, her Majesty's Distemper so violent, and her Death so very suddain, that there was no Room for many Particulars of this Part to appear; But one happy Circumstance leaves such a Conviction of the Truth of this, on the Minds of all that will impartially consider these Things, that no one can withstand it.

Can

Can it be Rational to suppose that these Men had no Design to secure the *Staff* in their own hands? OR, *On the other hand*, will any Man be so weak as to think that the present *Staff* was the Person they design'd? What then could move her late Majesty to take a Step so contrary to, and in it self so destructive of, all their Measures, if her Majesty had been, as is suggested, either in their Measures, or under their Management.

And if her Majesty, who was at first so far satisfy'd with them, and had so good an Opinion of their Integrity, as at their Motion to displace the late *Staff* who had always been so fast riveted in her Favour, as not to be shaken by the strongest Efforts of a Former Party, had not been altered in her Opinion of them, and had not seen Reason to be less satisfied with them than she was before, Why did she give the *Staff* from them? and, Why did she give it into a Hand that was never in their Interest, and but little in their Favour; a Hand whom they fear'd and hated as much as they did the former, and for the same Reason, *viz.* That they knew he would not risque his Country to raise a Party, and to gratify private Ambition?

Nor was it a small Progress for the late

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Staff

Staff to make in Two Days time after his being dispossess'd, *viz.* To convince the Queen she was gotten into hands not fit to be trusted, and to obtain of her Majesty to put her self into the hands of a Person whose Probity, Wisdom, Affection to her Person, and Concern for his Country, was too well known to be doubted, and too great to be tainted with the Corruption of a Mercenary Party.

This Step of her Majesty was to the New Faction a Stumbling at the Threshold, and Effectually disconcerted all their Measures, enervated the Force of their Party, and disabled them Entirely for the Mischief they had design'd; For what could they do without the *Staff*? And what could not the *Staff* do without them?

The Queen was then acting with her Eyes open, nor was it in their Power to close them, and had not Death closed them as it did, they had in a few Days been the most exposed, and most contemptible Party of Men in the Nation; and perhaps had not escaped without some Taste of that Resentment, which her Majesty in Justice could hardly have forborn to a Set of Men, who, under the greatest Obligations to her Bounty, and with

with the greatest Pretences to render her Service, were running her into inextricable Difficulties, Betraying her Person, Crown and Kingdoms, and building their private Fortunes upon her inevitable Destruction.

But her Majesty was snatch'd away, and Heaven has taken this work into his own hands, the wise Disposals of Providence are always to be submitted to, and the Mercy of Heaven in so Peaceably filling up the Throne with the only Rightful and Lawful Successor, is never to be enough acknowledg'd; Nothing but which could have repair'd the Loss, or made up the Breach which her Majesty's suddain Death had made among us. The only Misfortune attending the New Administration, *if any thing can lessen our Joy on this Occasion*, is, That these Men are not so fully and effectually detected and exposed, or the Honour of her Majesty so effectually vindicated in this Affair of the Pretender, as would have been the Case had Her Life been spared a little longer; But Time will do Justice to her Memory.

Had her Majesty liv'd till this Discovery had been made, no Man would then have offer'd to suggest, That the Queen

was engaged with those Men in the wicked Design of ruining their Countries Liberties, selling us to *French, Popish*, or any other Slavery ; and it would have been Conspicuous to the whole Nation, that the late *Staff* had rescued both the Queen, and her Kingdoms also, from the Danger that hung over their Heads, by fully acquainting her Majesty with the Designs, and with the Men, and leading her by the hand to a clear View of the Gulph they were going to sink her into.

Thus far our Secret History goes upon the Facts which have appeared, The Consequences which may be drawn from the Premises are too many to be enlarged upon ; What these Men have been driving at is evident, and what had been their Fate if the Queen had survived a Few Months longer is very plain : It is hoped, That as these things cannot be hid from the Knowledge of his present Majesty, so neither will it be long e'er those, who were so apparently embark'd in Designs destructive to the Safety and Liberty of *Great Britain*, may be distinguish'd from those who have been unjustly loaden with their Guilt, and been reproach'd with those Mischiefs which they have been the only Means to prevent.

Above

Above all, The Ashes of her Late Majesty seems to call upon the present Age to clear up her Memory from that Calumny which, as above, is raised from the supposed Influence these scandalous Persons seem'd to have upon her Intentions; as if, because they prevail'd with her Majesty to displace the *Staff*, who had had so long and so uninterrupted a Share in her particular Favour, that therefore they had a full Ascendant over the Queen's Resolutions, and that her Majesty was to be entituled to all the Scandal of their Conduct; That it was in their Power to give up the Nation to *France*, To introduce the Pretender, Suppress our Liberties, and, in a word, To ruin the Nation.

Which was so far from being True, That, as is manifest, it was not in their Power to keep the *Staff* within their own Party, or to influence her Majesty to dispose of it to any of their Friends; nay, nor to prevent its being disposed, *as is said*, where it was even a greater Terror than it was before.

It cannot be imagin'd, That her Majesty, who was so sensible of their being Enemies to her Safety, and to the Tranquility of her Kingdoms, as not to think
fit

fit to trust them with the *Staff*, was so closely joined with them in their other Measures, as to give up Herself and Government to the only profest Enemy of both, and to be sold to the Pretender : It is more than probable, that her Eyes were opened to the Treachery of these Men, That she had found the Account given her of them by the late *Staff* undeniably proved, their Knavery detected, and was convinced, that they were not Persons she could commit her self, or the Nation to with Safety, and that therefore, even at that Juncture, when they thought the Game their own, her Majesty gave them to understand, that she was resolved to be Mistress of her own Measures, and to Reign without them.

It would make up another Volume, and be a Secret History as full of Variety as this, and full as Entertaining, to give an Account, How Planet-struck they appeared at this surprizing Blow ; What they said one to another after they had stood looking one upon another speechless and confounded for some Hours ; at a private Assembly of all their Confederates, which was held upon the Occasion, where they gave Vent to their Passions, and broke out into all the Ex-
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travagancies of Rage and Dispair. What desperate Measures their Chief Leader propos'd, and what a full Consent of Treason against both Queen and Country those desperate Measures met with.

The Blast of Hell and the Rage of a Million of Devils be on this Cursed Staff, said He, flinging the Purse, &c. on the Ground, IT IS HE that has ruin'd us, and broken all our Measures: Did not I warn you from breaking with him? (*Said he*) I told you always it was impossible to supplant him with the Queen. That she could never hear him speak, such was the Magick of his Tongue, without being enchanted with his Words; and that if he got but the Liberty for Five Words, he would undo us all.

Give away the Staff! said the Bis.
By Lucifer I could not have believ'd she durst have done it! What can we do without it, We have but one way left, *France* and the Lawful Heir; it, must, and shall be done, By G—d.

But whether do I launch, This is a Scene of such Consequence, fill'd with such a Complication of Villany, such a Discovery of the black Designs of Great Numbers of Men, that it cannot be entred upon here; It must be related in a Volume by it self.

F I N I S

